

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 027801  
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TO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 027801

EXDIS

FOL DAKAR 0647 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BRAZZAVILLE CAPE TOWN  
HAVANA KINSHASA LISBON MOSCOW PRETORIA USUN PARIS JAN 26, 1978  
REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T DAKAR 0647

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CG, AO, PINT

SUBJECT: ANGOLA: PRESIDENT SENGHOR'S LATEST ANALYSIS

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REF: (A) STATE 18360 (NOTAL), (B) 77 DAKAR 8447 (NOTAL),  
(C) DAKAR 208 (NOTAL), (D) LISBON 149 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: SENGHOR INDICATES THAT, PRIOR TO RECENT  
MPLA CONGRESS, ANGOLAN PRESIDENT NETO SOUGHT TO DIVERSIFY  
HIS CONTACTS IN ORDER TO PURSUE RECONCILIATION WITH  
SAVIMBI, BUT THEN DROPPED INITIATIVE AND RETURNED TO

EXCLUSIVE SOVIET/CUBAN EMBRACE. SENGHOR BELIEVES CUBANS WANT NETO TO DESTROY UNITA WHILE SOVIETS ARE NOT OPPTSED TO RECONCILIATION. SENEGALESE LEADER CONTENDS CONTINUED AID TO SAVIMBI IS NEEDED TO MAINTAIN INCENTIVE FOR NETO BREAK AWAY FROM SOVIET/CUBAN ORBIT AND OFFER COMPROMISE WHICH COULD ACHIEVE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. END SUMMARY.

2. IN ACCORDANCE WITH HSREJIIDQXA) AND PREVIOUS, C ENGAGED SENGHOR IN CONVERSATION JANUARY 25 ABOUT THE ANGOLAN PROBLEM. I OPENED BY SAYING WE ARE INTERESTED IN RAMIFICATIONS OF TWO RECENT DEVELOMMENTS. FIRST, THERE WAS SENGHOR'S INTERVIEW IN DECEMBER 23 ISSUE OF JEUNE AFRIQUE (REFS B AND C) WHICH INDICATED THERE MIGHT BE POSSIBILITY FOR A SENGHOC-NETO DIALOMUE. SECONDLY, UNGOLAN-ZAIRE NORMALIZATION NEGOTIATIONS HAD OPENED IN BRAZZAVILLE ON JANUARY 20. I ASKED SENGHOR WHAT SORT OF SCENARIO HE ENVISAGED FOR ANGOLA.

3. SENGHOR REPLIED THAT THE ANGOLAN SITUATION HAS BECOME TERRIBLY COMPLEX. HIS JEUNE AFRIQUE PROPOSAL FOR A DIALOGUE WITH NETO WAS BASED ON A MESSAGE HE HAD RECEIVED FROM THE ANGOLAN PRESIDENT TRANSMITTED BY MARIO SOARES AND RUI MATEUS (REFTEL D). IN THAT MESSAGE, NETO SAID THAT HE WAS TIRED OF HIS EXCLUSIVE TETE-A-TETE WITH THE SOVIETS, AND WOULD LIKE TO DIVERSIFY HIS CONTACTS, LEADING TO A RECONCILIATION WITH SAVIMBI. THIS MESSAGE WAS DELIVERED BEFORE THE MPLA CONGRESS. AFTER THE CONGRESS, SECRET

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SENGHOR SAW MATEUS AGAIN AND WAS TOLD THAT ALL BETS WERE OFF. SOARES WAS DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED BECUASE NETO HAD DECIDED TO DROP HIS INITIATIVE, AND HAD RETURNED TO THE EXCLUSIVE EMBRACE OF THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS.

4. PARALLEL TO THESE EXCHANGES WITH THE PORTUGUESE, SENGHOR WAS APPROACHED BY THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR WHO SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WISHED TO ENCOURAGE SENGHOR'S EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN NETO AND SAVIMBI.

5. SENGHOR'S CONCLUSION FROM ALL THIS IS THAT THERE MAY BE A

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THE CUBANS ON HOW TO PROCEED IN ANGOLA. THE CUBANS WANT NETO TO DIG IN AND CONTINUE THE EFFORT TO DESTROY UNITA. THE SOVIETS ARE MORE RESERVED AND APPEAR WILLING TO WORK THINGS OUT TO BRING ABOUT PEACE.

6. SENGHOR CONCLUDED FROM THE FOREGOING THAT UNTIL NETO SHOWS RENEWED WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE WITH SAVIMBI, THERE IS NOTHING THA HIS GOOD OFFICES COULD PRODUCE. I ASKED IF HE WOULD CONSEL THE US TO ENCOURAGE MOBUTU TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO

NORMALIZE WITH ANGOLA. I STRESSED OUR INTEREST IN ZAIRE'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY WHICH DEPENDS TO A GREAT EXTENT ON THE REOPENING OF THE BENGUELA RAILWAY. SENGHOR RESPONDED THAT WE SHOULD BY ALL MEANS ENCOURAGE THE ZAIRE-ANGOLAN NEGOTIATIONS, BUT, AND THIS IS A BIG BUT, ZAIRE MUST CONTINUE ITS AID TO SAVIMBI. IF MOBUTU DUMPS SAVIMBI (LAISSER TOMBER SAVIMBI) IN RETURN FOR NORMALIZATION, THEN THERE WILL BE NO MORE INCENTIVE FOR NETO TO TRY AND BREAK AWAY FROM THE SOVIET-CUBAN EMBRACE, AND THE OCCUPATION OF ANGOLA WILL BECOME PERMANENT.

7. COMMENT: SENGHOR'S REMARKS HELP EXPLAIN DISTINCTION HE APPEARED TO BE DRAWING IN JEUNE AFRIQUE INTERVIEW BETWEEN SOVIETS, WHO HE BELIEVED "WOULD NOT SEE DIALOGUE BETWEEN SAVIMBI AND NETO  
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IN BAD LIGHT," AND CUBANS, WHOSE ROLE IN ANGOLA HE REITERATED THAT HE HAD OPPOSED FROM THE START. IT SEEMS CLEAR FROM HIS LATEST COMMENTS THAT ANY SENEGALESE INITIATIVE TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION IN ANGOLA HAS BEEN SHELVED PENDING CHANGE OF HEART BY NETO. SENGHOR BELIEVES THAT CONTINUE PRESSURE FROM SAVIMBI IS NECESSARY IF THIS IS EVER TO COME ABOUT, AND SENEGAL'S UNDERWRITING OF CONTINUING UNITA IN DAKAR (77 DAKAR 7016) IS PRESUMABLY PART OF THIS STRATEGY. COHEN UNQUOTE VANCE

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